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THE COLONEL AND THE QUEEN

(Chapter XIX of the biography of Goodwin Wharton -- 1653 - 1704)

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ABSTRACT

Chapter XIX of the biography of Goodwin Wharton (1653 - 1704) follows Wharton's career from the spring of 1692 through December, 1694, recounting his disappointments at the hands of God, the angels, the lowlanders (fairies) and miscellaneous spirits and his emergence as a power in Parliament and his adventures in the military campaigns of 1694. It describes such major events in Wharton's life as his second deep-sea diving expedition to Tobermory, the Battle of Camaret Bay and the death of Queen Mary II.

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In the interval between Goodwin's sexual liberation and Tom's marriage came another great crisis in the war between Louis XIV and William III--a replay, with variations, of the drama of 1690. Again the French and their Jacobite abettors planned an insurrection and an invasion while William was away from England--this time commanding the allied army in Flanders--and again Queen Mary and her Council were left to deal with the French fleet under Admiral Tourville and an unknown number of domestic conspirators. In this spring of 1692, the French were better prepared than they had been in the summer of 1690, when their triumph at Beachy Head had found them without an adequate invasion force and when their Jacobite friends had failed to stage an uprising. Now they had an army of about 20,000 men waiting to be loaded onto transports for the short voyage across the Channel from Normandy to the South Coast--an army that was to be accompanied by King James in person; they had strong assurances of help from their English collaborators, who had been conducting a brisk propaganda campaign; and

they had endeavoured through their Jacobite agents to cause defections among the officers of the English fleet. If Tourville could repeat his victory, or merely hold the Channel for a few days, the French could land their troops in England, where an army of French regulars could hope to smash the raw militia and the few regular regiments that could be brought against it.

The English government too was better prepared than it had been during the last crisis. In late April and early May, when the French threat became evident, the government moved swiftly to arrest known or suspected Jacobites, to raise the militia, and to recall regiments from Flanders. The English fleet, now under the command of the cool and decisive Russell instead of the slothful and cautious Torrington, was moved from the Nore to Spithead and joined by a Dutch squadron under Admiral Almonde. By May 10, the Anglo-Dutch fleet was ready and waiting for the French, and Queen Mary was reviewing the London militia at Hyde Park.

While England held its breath, Goodwin discovered a conspiracy within a conspiracy. Among the Jacobite plotters, the Lord said, was a team of technical experts who were designing an explosive device with which they intended to "blow up the Queen" and set fire to Whitehall. The "engine," now on the verge of completion, was to be disguised in some ingenious fashion and handed over to the Queen as a present. It was Goodwin's

duty, the Lord explained further, to circumvent the plot and save Queen Mary, in a way that would redound to his own fame. At "the critical minute," when the plotters were ready to present their machine, Goodwin was to denounce them to the Queen and have them seized with the evidence in their hands. Besides foiling the immediate design against Mary, he could prevent a later attack on William and perhaps force the engineer-conspirators to reveal the names of their Jacobite sponsors--who included (as the angels said) nine or ten of the "greatest" men in the kingdom.

But the Jacobite demolition team proved to be much less skillful than either they or the Lord had supposed. Their engine, like Goodwin's mortar of years gone by, was always one crucial piece short of perfection. And though they frequently got drunk to celebrate their success, they always met with disappointments when they tested their device. Goodwin was first apprised of their plot on May 15 and informed that their attempt would be made within a few hours. But as the action-filled days passed by--as Tourville's fleet appeared in the Channel and as Russell's fleet went out to meet it in the four-day battle called La Hogue--Goodwin was denied his chance to save the Queen; he could only wait for his enemies to finish the design that would make him famous, and for the Lord to tell

him that the critical minute had come.

Luckily, the safety of England did not depend upon the public detection of the explosion plot but upon the English fleet, which showed itself more than equal to the task of coping with the French. On May 19, off Barfleur, it defeated Tourville's outnumbered squadrons in a full-dress sea fight, and on subsequent days it destroyed many warships in the bays to which they fled for shelter. On May 23, at La Hogue on the Cotentin Peninsula, it completed its victory by burning several three-deckers and a number of the transports that had been assembled there to ferry the French army to England. When Admiral Russell sailed for home on May 24, all danger of a French invasion had vanished, and the only military question that faced Queen Mary and her Council was whether they could exploit their command of the sea to conduct a descent of their own--an attack upon the now-vulnerable coastal cities of Normandy and Brittany.

The news of the French defeat, Goodwin found, did nothing to discourage the Jacobite assassins, who tried, on the contrary, even more "passionately" to finish their "villainous design." Throughout the summer and well into the autumn of 1692, they continued to work on their machine, and it was not until the middle of October that they finally admitted defeat. Goodwin was

not a little vexed by their failure, which not only robbed him of a chance for instant renown but also illustrated once again the unreliability of his revelations. God and the angels had promised him many times that the assassins' device would be completed, and he grumbled aloud to Mary Parish about the broken promises. When he was reproved in an oral revelation for seeming to murmur against Providence, he quickly conceded the folly of criticizing God, who was not to blame for "the necessity of causes, the obstinacy and corruption of men's wills," or "the malice of Satan." He could not help wishing, nevertheless, that the Lord's promises were more reliable; and he could not help wondering whether Satan had put the assassination plot "forward or backward."

Goodwin was similarly frustrated in his dealings with the lowlanders. In June he learned that near Tyburn there was an "old forsaken entrance" which opened on a passage leading to the main lowland colony at Hounslow; he also learned that the lowlanders had a base at Brompton, which Mary was sometimes allowed to visit. But his own efforts to meet Jeffrey and the other lowlanders were consistently thwarted. In September when according to a promise made the previous year he was to enter into his lowland kingdom, his subjects found many excuses to keep him away. It was not even

worthwhile, he found, to make the journey to Hounslow.

Earlier in the year the Lord had commanded him to make another diving expedition to Scotland and had promised, as usual, to provide the proper garments. Although the command caught Goodwin almost totally unprepared, with "not a penny raised" and with his lost diving gear unreplaced, he struggled bravely for a month (from March 3 to April 4) to make himself ready. Then he was reprieved. There were watery spirits guarding the wreck, the Lord said, and until these were subdued it would be impossible to remove the mud and silt that hindered salvage operations. The spirits had been promised, the Lord went on to explain, that they could remain undisturbed until 1693; he had hoped to persuade them to leave voluntarily, but since they insisted on their legal rights, they could not be banished without injustice.

Goodwin was happy to postpone the expedition for a year on financial and technical grounds alone, since the delay gave him more time to build equipment and to raise the seven thousand pounds that the venture finally required. Before the summer was over, the delay turned out to be fortunate on military grounds as well. In early August, word reached London by way of a "flying packet" that Sir John Maclean, the last holdout among the rebel chiefs, had surrendered Duart Castle and

Cairn a'Burgh to the government forces. No longer would a diving party at Tobermory require a company of infantry; a naval guard against privateers would suffice.

Against the aborted projects of 1692, Goodwin was able to counterbalance at least one clear success. He brought suit against the rascally Cornishmen who had pillaged his wrecked ship during the winter of 1691; and at the trial, which was held in Salisbury on July 9, 1692, he gained the verdict. With the help of the Lord, who had promised to accompany him to Salisbury and "overcome the enemy," he not only "cast" (defeated) his opponents but inspired "great respect and affection" among the townspeople. In a summer when victories were rare, he savored the triumph.

But the most important event in Goodwin's life during the summer of 1692 had nothing to do with trials, plots, diving expeditions, or lowlanders; it was the death, on August 13, of his stepmother, Lady Wharton. For "a considerable time," as Goodwin noted, Lady Wharton had been wasting away, suffering from "a tedious long grief and trouble of mind" in addition to some incurable physical affliction, which reduced her to "skin and bone" and broke her "to the last degree." She had retained, nevertheless, her illicit passion for Goodwin (he was convinced), and only a short time before she left St. Giles for the country, where she spent her

last few days, she let him see that "she fell not from her affection in the least." In the final stages of her illness, she sent to him for a bottle of salts, and upon receiving it, she spoke to Lord Wharton on his behalf (as he learned by revelation), exonerating him from all blame. Lady Wharton probably saved her soul by her deathbed behavior. At any rate Goodwin did not enquire about her or attempt to get in touch with her after she was buried (at Wooburn on August 17); he was content to observe that her death "ended one of the strangest adventures" he ever experienced.

Lady Wharton's death left Lord Wharton completely alone except for the servants; all of his children had establishments of their own, and no one volunteered to live with him. Under these circumstances, Goodwin felt obliged to step forward. At great potential sacrifice of his own freedom and convenience, he offered to take up residence at St. Giles. His father, however, seemed "unaccountably cold"; he appeared to regard the offer not as an expression of love and duty but as a sign of a "cringing temper"--an attempt to curry favor. He also seemed overinquisitive on the subject of Goodwin's alleged marriage. He expected, he said in effect, that if Goodwin came to live at St. Giles he would bring his wife. Lord Wharton's coldness and his interest in Goodwin's wife--almost as if he doubted that

Goodwin had a wife--put an end to all serious discussion. Since Goodwin could never acknowledge Mary publicly and since he could never bring her into his father's house, he withdrew his offer and retreated to Soho Square. Thereafter he would allow his father to make his own living arrangements.

Meantime in Soho Square, the alliance between Goodwin and Sir Thomas Travell was showing signs of strain. Goodwin found it difficult to forgive Sir Thomas's insubordination at Tobermory, and he found Sir Thomas's spiritual pretensions galling. After the return from Mull, where he had seen spirits hovering above the wrecked ship, Sir Thomas continued to see manifestations from time to time; the angels once declared, indeed, that he was more apt to see spirits than Goodwin himself. There was also the matter of the never-opened closet. Sir Thomas could not help complaining occasionally about the delays which had stretched out for more than three years since the first journey to Southampton in 1689, and at times he seemed to suspect Mary and Goodwin of removing treasure from the closet without his knowledge.

Under such tensions, Goodwin found his intimacy with Sir Thomas "much abated," and he was not surprised when the angels, confirming his own doubts, said that Sir Thomas was a man of "ill principles." He was not

yet ready, however, to break up the alliance. He still hoped that the angels could turn his friend from his ill practices and that Sir Thomas, who was sometimes assigned to seek treasures around Somersetshire, might one day find something. He recognized too that sharing the house at Soho was both convenient and economical and that having a rich disciple, however wavering, produced many advantages. Finally, there were political considerations. In the election of 1690 when Goodwin was returned from Malmesbury, Sir Thomas was elected at Milborne Port, where he owned extensive property. Thereafter he served with Goodwin in Commons, and Number 4 Soho Square became a bastion of Whig politics. It was difficult to break with a man, Goodwin saw, who was at once a political protégé, a spiritual ally, and an investor in expensive projects.

When Parliament opened in the fall of 1692, Goodwin found many opportunities to increase his political reputation. He had already established himself as a debater in Commons, and the events of the summer had furnished many topics for debate. In Flanders, the military campaign had gone very badly. King William had been unable to prevent Luxembourg from taking the strongly fortified town of Namur, and when he had launched a surprise attack against the French army at Steinkirk, his English and Scots assault regiments, inadequately

supported by reserve infantry, were finally driven off with heavy losses--a defeat for which the Dutch general officers, particularly Count Solms, were severely criticised. At home, the great naval victory of La Hogue had been left unexploited. The portion of the French fleet that had taken shelter at St. Malo managed to escape past the attempted English blockade and make its way back to Brest; and the descent on France planned by the Queen and her Council degenerated into an expensive fiasco. In late July an expeditionary force was loaded into transports, where it remained while Admiral Russell wrangled with the Council and the Admiralty over where or whether a descent should be launched. In the end, the troops were disembarked without having set foot in France. To these aggravations, which would shortly affect Goodwin's own military career, there was added another unfortunate side effect from La Hogue; the French navy shifted its strategy from line-of-battle warfare to attacks on merchant shipping. The war became an unending series of small-squadron and single-ship attacks upon English vessels, and sometimes upon coastal villages.

Privately, Goodwin knew that King William had deserved his misfortunes in Flanders; he had prayed, in fact, that William should be punished for his neglect and coldness. In Parliament, however, he supported

William on the issues most vital for the conduct of the war. He agreed, first of all, that the English army should be committed to the campaigns in Flanders. Against Tory isolationists, who were beginning to argue that England should control the seas and leave the war on the Continent to their allies, Goodwin countered that control of the sea depended upon control of the Low Countries. If France conquered Holland, he said, the French would take over the Dutch fleet, add it to their own, and crush the English navy. Goodwin also agreed, against some Tory critics, that William should continue to conduct the war in the field, regardless of personal danger or lost battles. William, Goodwin argued, was the soul of the alliance, which would collapse if the confederates once "made a doubt" of his personal involvement.

As a strong supporter of William's military strategy, Goodwin favored the strengthening of the army, and when the government asked Commons to authorize a land force of 54,000 men, Goodwin spoke in favor of the proposal. Such a force, he argued, was essential if the allies were to cope with the forces being raised by King Louis for the upcoming campaign. His sentiments on this subject turned out to be the sentiments of the majority; after considerable debate, during which amendments to cut the force proposals were beaten back,

the House authorized the full complement of 54,000.

But Goodwin's support for the King's war aims did not imply support for the officers, civilian or military, who were appointed to conduct the war and the government. During the session of 1692-93, Goodwin found occasion to attack the Admiralty, the Dutch generals, the Secretary of State, the Queen's Council, and the King's "Cabinet Council," as well as a number of lesser incompetents, including William Lloyd, formerly Bishop of St. Asaph and now Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

In attacking the foreign generals, Goodwin was reflecting the view of the English officers that they had been badly served at Steinkirk--that Count Solms, whom they disliked personally, had given stupid orders and thrown away their chance for victory; he was also expressing a certain amount of English chauvinism. Three times during the debates on November 25, he spoke in support of a resolution designed to restrict the employment of non-native generals and bring about the immediate transfer of Solms. This resolution, finally adopted by the House and ignored by William, advised the King that in filling future vacancies in the command of English armies, he should select generals from his own dominions, and that (without waiting for a vacancy) he should make a native Englishman general of the English infantry (that he should turn out Solms, the incumbent

general, and replace him with an Englishman, preferably Thomas Talmash).

In attacking the Admiralty and the great officers of state, Goodwin was speaking for his party. During the enquiry over the fiasco that followed La Hogue, he naturally supported Russell, the Whig admiral, against the Tory-dominated Council and Admiralty Board, who had tried to induce Russell to make a descent upon the French coast; it was Goodwin, in fact, who made the motion, quickly passed, that Russell should have the thanks of the House "for his great courage and conduct" during the summer campaign.

The basic problem, Goodwin argued in several speeches, was not treachery but incompetence; the gentlemen in the Admiralty meant well enough--their "fidelity" was not in question--but they were amateurs. William should be advised to appoint Commissioners of "known experience in maritime affairs." Similarly, the Secretary of State (Nottingham) probably meant well enough, in spite of his miserable Tory principles, which did not allow him to recognize William as the "rightful," as distinct from the de facto, King of England. But as the sole Secretary he was overworked, and as a man of cautious and illiberal temperament, he was unfit to conduct a bold, aggressive policy. He should be replaced, Goodwin implied, or provided with a genuinely

qualified (Whig) associate.

Besides incompetence, Goodwin complained further, there was the problem of secrecy. The King's Cabinet Council--as distinct from the Privy Council--was a small privileged body unknown to the law (and filled with Tories like Nottingham, Carmarthen, and Lowther); its deliberations were confidential, and members were not obliged "to set their hands" to the advice they gave. It was difficult, therefore, to assign responsibility for bad advice and bad measures. Ideally, Goodwin said in effect, the Cabinet Council would be abolished, but if it could not be dispensed with, it should be made overtly responsible.

By the end of November Goodwin had spoken more than a dozen times during the debates on the conduct of the war and established himself as one of the voices of the Whig party in Commons--not a "manager" like his brother Tom or Sir John Somers (then Attorney General) but a significant voice nevertheless. He had also been commendably moderate in his attacks on the King's Tory ministers; not once had he mentioned the names Nottingham or Carmarthen, and not once had he suggested that the two men were crypto-Jacobites. He had indeed questioned the zeal of Sir John Ashby, the Tory admiral who had not pursued the French closely enough (many Whigs thought) after the first engagement at Barfleur; but he had not

persisted in the accusation when Sir John vindicated himself in an appearance before Commons.

In recognition of his new eminence, Goodwin was invited to hold a personal interview with King William, who had now discovered an "esteem" for him, a regard perhaps commensurate with the need for his support in financing the war. During the interview, held in early December, Goodwin "freely discoursed" on the state of the nation and on the measures demanded by the current posture of affairs. He warned King William against keeping up political parties and against rewarding men who "opposed him"; that is to say, he warned the King against supporting the Tory faction, which might wither and die without royal recognition, and against employing men like Nottingham who did not admit the legality of his title. He further advised William, as he had advised his colleagues in Commons, that the Cabinet Council should be abolished. Finally, he suggested a measure more radical, and sanguinary, than anything he had ventured to put forward in the House. Nothing had been done, he said in effect, to avenge the judicial murders perpetrated by the agents of Charles and James. The "innocent blood" of the Whig martyrs still cried unheeded, four years after the Revolution, and the nation still needed to be "cleansed" by some act of "public justice."

Although William was not at all shocked by the proposal, which unforgiving Whigs had tried to urge upon him since 1689, he did not ask Goodwin to elucidate or name candidates for the gallows; he merely said that if there were to be punishments they must proceed from Parliamentary action. And when Goodwin pointed out that Parliament, because of its factions, could never agree on retributive measures, William seemed to consider the matter closed. At the time, Goodwin was pleased with the interview in general (the Lord told him that William would employ him) and not particularly bothered by William's tacit refusal to proceed against prominent Tory malefactors. It was only later, after some unforeseen tragedies, that he perceived the enormity of the King's error. By refusing to purify the nation and vindicate justice, William had damaged the English cause and brought personal suffering upon himself.

About the time Goodwin received his invitation to consult with King William, he also received his long-delayed revelation on the subject of government finance. Money should be raised, the Lord told him orally, by a tax upon the clergy and upon lawyers. Unfortunately, the Lord did not go on to explain precisely what sort of taxes he had in mind or how they were to be levied and collected; and until Goodwin, now a veteran M. P., understood the details of the proposal, he could not

bring a tax plan before the House. When he asked for clarification, he got nothing but promises and delays. Again he was forced to stand by while Parliament voted to renew land, poll, and excise taxes and to raise money on loans; and again he missed a chance to earn a peerage or an office in the government.

For some time after his interview at Whitehall, Goodwin hoped that William would find a place for him, whether or not the Lord revealed a complete tax bill, but William not only failed to employ Goodwin but also ignored his advice; he retained his Tory ministers and his Cabinet Council, and he continued to balance the Whigs against the Tories. Back in the House, Goodwin found himself facing essentially the same problems he had faced before the interview. Once more he threw himself into the task of saving England from its enemies foreign and domestic, and once more this meant speeches, votes, and committee assignments.

During the balance of the 1692-93 session Goodwin spoke more than twenty times, served on four or five important committees (including, once more, the Committee on Elections and Privileges, of which he was ultimately to become chairman), acted as teller on several important divisions, and even represented the House of Commons as a conference manager during a dispute with the House of Lords. Some of his speeches continued his

attacks upon the Tories. He supported a new abjuration bill, like the bill of 1690, which would have required all office holders to take an oath abjuring King James but which was defeated like its predecessor; he supported a resolution asking the King to employ only men who supported him in principle as well as in practice (that is to say, Whigs)--a resolution that was rendered harmless by amendments; and he backed a motion blaming the Queen's Council, notably Nottingham, for the fiasco of the aborted descent upon France--a motion that passed by a single vote, with Goodwin serving as teller for the yeas. In other obviously partisan speeches, he tried to save Bishop Burnet from the indignity of having his Pastoral Letter burned by the hangman, and when he could not rescue the Whig Burnet, he moved that Bishop Lloyd's Tory Discourse of God's Ways of Disposing of Kingdoms should be burned too--a proposal which got no support from his colleagues.

But many of Goodwin's speeches were on less narrowly partisan issues. He agreed with Sir John Somers that new laws for regulating treason trials--laws more favorable to defendants--should not come into effect until after the war; he spoke in favor of continuing to employ commissioners of accounts and of expanding their powers; he led off the debate on the condition of Ireland and criticized abuses in Irish administration; he sug-

gested ways of encouraging English privateers and preventing naval supplies from reaching France; he called for investigation of the privileges of the East India Company; he supported an amendment to the game laws which would have allowed any Protestant householder to keep a musket for his defence; and he made speeches on Parliamentary elections, privileges, and procedures, upon which he was becoming an expert.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, he vigorously supported the Triennial Bill--a measure which prescribed general elections every three years and thus prevented the King from retaining indefinitely a parliament subservient to his interests. Against the opposition of the ministers and of some of his Whig friends, including Somers, Goodwin argued the merits of frequent elections and of a more independent House; he supported an amendment making yearly sessions mandatory; and he served as teller for the yeas on two important divisions--including the final vote on the bill, which passed by a margin of 200-161. The fact that the bill, which also passed in the House of Lords, was finally vetoed by King William did nothing to detract from Goodwin's performance as an advocate or shake his faith in the measure. He continued to press for its adoption during succeeding sessions until December 1694 when it again passed both Houses and was at last approved by William.

On March 14, 1693, the King prorogued Parliament for the summer and prepared to set out for the Continent, leaving Goodwin unrewarded for his support of the military budget and his Parliamentary finesse. Almost routinely, the Lord promised that William would die within a few weeks and that in the meantime Queen Mary, again left as Regent, would "prefer" Goodwin to an office. Again the Lord's predictions failed. On July 19, at Landen, William fought and lost the bloodiest battle of the seventeenth century, but he remained incorrigibly alive. As for Mary, she retained her usual advisors and did nothing to find a government post for Goodwin. She did, however, demonstrate her affection in a useful, material way; she ordered the frigate Dolphin, a fifth-rate warship of twenty-six guns, to leave off cruising in the Irish Sea and accompany Goodwin on his summer diving expedition to Tobermory.

Goodwin's preparations for his second attempt at Mull were somewhat less elaborate than those of his earlier voyage. This time he took only one salvage vessel, and since Mull was safely in government hands, he needed only one escort vessel and no soldiers at all. He also spent less time negotiating with Jeffrey, the diving lowlander, who had missed so many appointments over the intervening two years that it was hard to take seriously the promise that he would join the expedition

en route. Goodwin relied instead on a pair of ordinary upland divers, the chief diver a man named Harrington.

On the spiritual side, however, Goodwin was rather better prepared than he had been in 1691. Besides having a guarantee of financial success--the Lord's flat promise that he would be "worth millions" when he returned from Scotland--he had the further assurance of protection and divine guidance; the Lord would not only save him from evil spirits and the French but appear to him sometimes in the evening as he walked about the deck. The Lord, moreover, would assign Gabriel to accompany the expedition. From Gabriel, who would appear as a light at night and as a pillar of cloud by day, Goodwin could learn exactly where the divers should go down; and on the return journey Gabriel would direct him to another shipwreck, almost as rich as the Tobermory galleon and "much easier" to salvage.

Almost as heartening as the promises delivered orally by Gabriel and the Lord was the delivery, on the eve of Goodwin's departure for Liverpool, of the often-promised diving suit--the magical "habit" with the headgear capable of straining air out of water. In the preceding weeks, Goodwin had almost given up hope of getting the suit, which had once been torn by malicious spirits and which the angels repeatedly took

back for technical improvements even when it was undamaged. Now, after a revelation in which the Lord informed him that the habit had arrived and warned him against looking at it until he saw or heard Gabriel at Tobermory, Goodwin found it "wrapped and sealed up on the table."

On the same day, Sunday, May 21, Goodwin went to say goodbye to Queen Mary, but when he saw her among her courtiers he perceived that she could not trust herself to sustain "a parting discourse," which might reduce her to tears or otherwise betray her love for him; and when he asked for a private audience he was not surprised to find himself put off with a polite court ruse. The Queen's servants told him that she could not see him until after chapel, and after chapel they said that she had "retired" for the day and that they had forgotten to inform her of his wish for an interview.

Leaving London on May 22, Goodwin arrived without incident at Liverpool, where he supervised the final loading of his salvage vessel and met the Dolphin, his naval escort, commanded by Captain Thomas Kircher. On June 6, the two ships set sail on an eventful voyage, which included a brush with two French privateers and a storm so violent that Goodwin saw it as a visitation for "an old crime"--the occasion, long ago, when he had

ventured near the brink of incest with his sister Philadelphia. As the ships neared Mull, the Lord provided another strange and unexplained phenomenon--a "white meteor" which flamed in the eastern sky, though the sun was still shining brightly in the west. This "glorious" light seemed to rise "many yards" above the horizon and to move across the sky; unlike ordinary falling stars, it remained visible for a long time.

Whatever the origin of the meteor, it did not suggest to Goodwin the presence of his friend Gabriel, who did not manifest himself during the voyage either as a light or a pillar of cloud and who continued to withhold any sign of his presence even after the ships reached Tobermory Bay, where they anchored on Saturday, June 17. Without seeing or hearing Gabriel, Goodwin did not dare open the diving habit, and he was once again forced to operate with his own conventional diving equipment, his system of pipes and bellows. It was difficult to set up his intricate gear and he was sometimes interrupted by false alarms about French warships, but he persevered nevertheless, aided by fair weather, until all was in order for the first descent. Then he found obstruction from an unexpected quarter.

His chief diver, Harrington, who had made "great pretensions" to skill and daring, dived to a depth of three fathoms and stopped. When he returned to the

surface, he alleged that he could "go no lower," and he managed to infect his companion with his fear (or treachery) so that Goodwin, finding himself without experienced divers, was obliged to recruit and train volunteers from the crew of the Dolphin. When this time-consuming process was about complete, toward the end of the month, the weather turned foul and operations were again suspended.

On the morning of July 6, after a week of bad weather and frustration, Goodwin heard something that raised his hopes. The sound, though not precisely intelligible, seemed to be a human or angelic voice, and Goodwin was inclined to believe that it came from Gabriel, communicating at last. He was also reasonably sure that if Gabriel was speaking, he was bringing permission to open the package containing the diving habit. In spite of his need for help and his growing feeling that the voice had been Gabriel's, Goodwin did not act hastily. It was not until July 10, four stormy days after he had heard the ambiguous sounds, that he decided to open the parcel. When he broke the seals and unwrapped the papers, he found "nothing but four sheets of white paper wrapped in a thin gauze."

Schooled by years of strange disappointments, he tried to remain unaffected by this one; stoically, he rewrapped and resealed the package, knowing as he did

so that there would be an explanation when he returned to London. (The malignant spirits, he eventually learned, had removed the diving suit and substituted paper.) But in view of the missing habit and the foul weather, he was "not so steady" that he could totally suppress his doubts about the Lord's promises; it no longer seemed probable that he "would be worth millions" before he reached home again. Betaking himself to prayer, he dedicated to the Lord whatever success he might be given.

About the middle of July the weather cleared again, and Goodwin resumed operations with his makeshift diving crew, who found themselves combatting tightly impacted mud and silt as well as deep water and the heavy timbers of the ship's stern, within which the treasure was reputed to lie. On July 18, a spear driven below the surface of the muck seemed to strike metal ("gold and silver plainly," Goodwin thought); and a week later, one of the amateur divers ("a new man") brought up some timber. Although these feats did not retrieve a single piece of Spanish gold, they did confirm the location of the wreck and they eventually shamed Harrington and his confederate into attempting descents of their own.

Harrington and his friend (who was seriously hurt during his attempt) proved less effective than the

recruits, and no one could penetrate the timbers and mud. In early August, therefore, after the Dolphin had been obliged to leave, Goodwin tried blasting. Managing what for the time was a very tricky technical maneuver, he succeeded in exploding "a shell" amid the wreckage. All he retrieved for his pains was a few "great timbers," torn loose by the explosion; the treasure itself remained inaccessible. He then jury-rigged a heavy grappling device consisting principally of two anchors. With this he "pulled away all the timbers from the top [of the wreck] and laid the place all bare"--only to find the area underneath the timbers "so hard" that it could not be entered. The new defeat proved final. Convinced at last that given the men and equipment at his disposal he could not salvage the galleon, he "resolved to go"; and on August 20, slightly more than two months after he had anchored at Tobermory, he sailed away down the Sound of Mull.

Even after Goodwin passed Duart Castle, which he saluted with cannon (frightening a dove that had settled on his ship), he maintained a shadowy hope of turning a profit from an expedition that had thus far produced a loss of £7,000. Gabriel, after all, had promised to direct him to a rich and easy wreck. There was yet time, if Gabriel would speak, to salvage some treasure and perhaps realize the "millions" the Lord had promised.

When, therefore, a strong east wind forced the ship to take shelter in Northern Ireland and to keep for a considerable time to the Irish shore, Goodwin continued to hope that Gabriel would direct him to a treasure. But this hope proved as empty as the rest; he "neither saw nor heard the least [thing] about the wreck to be discovered."

When Goodwin left his ship in Liverpool and returned to London, he left the diving business forever. Although the Lord brought him home safely and although the fiasco of the diving habit was adequately explained (and the "true" diving habit brought back to Mary in London), the second Tobermory expedition could only be classified as a failure, virtually unredeemed by spiritual significance. He had indeed seen one bright meteor, one large swordfish, one brilliant rainbow, and one friendly dove, but nothing weighty enough to counterpoise the broken promises; and this time there were no cannons from the Dartmouth to please the King, impress Lord Wharton, and mollify investors. Besides the disillusion and financial loss sustained at Mull, Goodwin was soon to find another reason for abandoning his diving projects. Before the next summer, he would have a commission in the cavalry and he would be devoting his energies to schemes for invading France. Weighed down with political and military responsibilities,

he would leave underwater salvage to such projectors as John Williams, Thomas Neale, John Tyzack, and the Duke of Leinster; never again would he set forth, with or without the help of angels, to fish for sunken gold.

When Goodwin reached home, on September 9, he found affairs at Soho Square much as he had left them. In his absence (as he had already been informed by letter), Mary had borne a daughter whom she had named Mary, but of course she had not brought the child home for Goodwin or the world to see, and the existence of one more daughter (who would die, unseen by Goodwin, on November 3) made no practical difference to the household. The lowlanders, as usual, had broken all their promises. They had not brought Mary the keys to any of their establishments; they had not sent Jeffrey to Scotland; and they had made no arrangements for Goodwin to enter his kingdom. The angels too had been remiss. While Goodwin was failing at Tobermory they had not provided alternative projects for the partnership, and although they intimated upon his return that they would soon reveal some "great business," they did not get around to explaining what it was. During October they occupied themselves with forcing reluctant spirits to transfer an appropriate share of treasure from Goodwin's closet to Sir Thomas Travell's closet, but after the

transfer they could not get permission for the partners to open either closet. On this endless project, the promises and postponements continued in the pattern they had followed since the Southampton journeys of 1689.

Like his dealings with the angels and lowlanders, Goodwin's romantic affairs remained unsatisfactory. Since his liberation on April 12, 1692, he had been free to find some worthy mistress, but he had continued to find difficulties in selecting one. The lovely Mistress Cooke, the most attractive and the most willing of the candidates, had proved ineligible. Though she had been forced into matrimony with a man whom she despised, she was nevertheless married, and a liaison with her could be considered adultery--a situation that made Goodwin nervous. Reluctantly, he had decided not to risk his new freedom on a doubtful case. He made a similar decision about an attractive lady named Mistress Finch, who had written to him suggesting an intrigue. Upon investigating, he came to suspect that the lady, though of undoubted "quality," gave herself too much liberty with other men. Remembering his disastrous experience with Mistress Gay, he declined to take up her invitation and allowed her to slide out of his life. Such caution, along with his determination to be "very nice" in his choice of women,

meant that now, after a year and a half of freedom, he was still looking for the right lady.

Fortunately, Goodwin's failures in business and love did not carry over into his political life. There, two great events had created new opportunities. King William's defeat at Landen and the French naval ambush of the Smyrna Fleet, a vast merchant convoy headed for the Levant, had suddenly changed the complexion of affairs. When Goodwin returned to London after three months' absence, he found the Tories in disarray and his Whig friends in a position to achieve a large measure of power. (He also found that one Whig M. P., his former friend and partner Sir John Wildman, had died on June 4.) The King's defeat in Flanders had been caused, at least in part, by the superior numbers at the disposal of Luxembourg, the wily French general, and it had become obvious that if William was to save the Low Countries--to say nothing of pushing back the French--he would need more English regiments. These the Whigs were willing to authorize and finance, though the costs would entail new taxes, new loans, and new financial expedients, including the founding of the Bank of England.

The cruel losses suffered by the Smyrna Fleet off the coast of Southern Spain had been caused by poor planning, poor intelligence, incompetence, bungling, and

bad luck. All but the last of these deficiencies could be blamed upon two Tory admirals, Henry Killigrew and Sir Ralph Delavall, who served as Sea Lords and joint commanders of English naval forces and whose mistaken allocation of warships had placed the merchant fleet at the mercy of the combined Atlantic and Mediterranean squadrons of the French navy; and there was plenty of odium left over to distribute among other decision makers, including the Whigs' favorite target, Nottingham. This time there was no Whig admiral to share the disgrace, and good Whig M. P.s could profess to find Jacobite treachery in the Tory disaster.

In Commons the attack upon the Tory naval administration was led by Charles Montague and Tom Wharton, who had little difficulty in persuading the House to declare in a formal resolution that the "miscarriage" of the Smyrna Fleet had been caused by "notorious and treacherous mismanagement." The Whigs then launched a campaign to have Killigrew and Delavall declared traitors by name. Goodwin, of course, joined the attack on the Admirals; in a speech of November 22, he scoffed at the notion that lack of provisions had prevented them from convoying the Smyrna Fleet beyond danger. He called "want of victuals" a "lame excuse," and he doubted aloud whether the Admirals had even surveyed the state of their provisions before they turned their own squadrons

back toward England and left the Smyrna Fleet to the inadequate protection of a small naval contingent commanded by Sir George Rooke.

In the end Goodwin and his friends failed to convince the House that the Admirals were traitors, but the failure hardly mattered as far as the allocation of places was concerned. Delavall and Killigrew were removed from the command of the fleet and from their positions on the Admiralty Board. They were replaced at the head of the fleet by Russell, who a few months later also assumed the position of first Sea Lord on a reconstituted Admiralty Board. The new arrangements in naval administration meant that Nottingham, though only tangentially responsible for the debacle at Lagos Bay, could not continue as Secretary of State. He was removed from office in November and eventually replaced by the Earl of Shrewsbury, a strong Whig and a long-time ally of Tom Wharton. To Goodwin, who had first begun calling for Nottingham's removal in the summer of 1690, the departure of his old enemy was a triumph; and to the Whigs in general, the new appointments, together with Somers' earlier appointment as Lord Keeper, brought a great increase in power. By the summer of 1694, they held most of the great offices in William's government.

Meanwhile the Whigs had been earning William's

favor by their steady support of his military budget. On December 20, the House voted to finance a land force of 83,000 men--an increase of almost 30,000 men over the previous year. The new contingents included six regiments of cavalry, four of marines, and fifteen of infantry; and they provided the government with dozens of commissions to distribute among deserving gentlemen. One of the deserving gentlemen was Goodwin, who on February 16, 1694, was made a lieutenant-colonel in the Earl of Macclesfield's new regiment of horse. Only slightly less deserving was Sir Thomas Travell, who became a captain in the same regiment. Their colonel, Charles Gerard, formerly styled Lord Brandon, had become Earl of Macclesfield on January 7, upon the death of his father, Goodwin's old friend and sponsor. Not a career soldier like his father, the new Earl was nevertheless a man of military experience; this fact, along with the appointment of a Huguenot major and some veteran lieutenants, allowed him to absorb three amateurs (including Charles, Lord Mohun) into his senior staff.

Goodwin's commission as lieutenant-colonel, his first office under William's government, meant a significant addition to his social prestige as well as his income and his area of influence. For the rest of his life, in a title-conscious society, he would be "Colonel Wharton," not simply "Mr. Wharton"; he would be further

distinguished from his brother Tom, both in public discourse and public documents; and of course he would be more obviously worthy of his father. During the weeks that followed his appointment, however, Goodwin was more concerned with the responsibilities of his new post than with its social and financial advantages. Besides the tasks involved in recruiting and organizing a new cavalry regiment and learning some of the rudiments of his trade, he was engaged, along with the Earl of Macclesfield and several others, in advocating an amphibious assault on Brest, the great French naval base--an operation finally scheduled for early May.

While Goodwin waited for the military campaign to start, he continued to do his duty in Commons. In the earlier part of the session, he had attacked the Tory Admirals, spoken in favor of the Triennial Bill (which was defeated this time around), defended William's right to veto bills, acted as teller on two or three divisions, and served on a committee or two (but not, this year, on the Committee on Elections and Privileges). Now, in the latter part of the session, he supported the Naturalization Bill, a number of routine supply bills, and the measure which established (in fact but not in name) the Bank of England. He served on several committees, some dealing with private bills and two or three dealing with important public measures; and he was four

times appointed teller--twice on hotly contested divisions. Once during a debate on a tax bill, he got into a heated argument with a Tory gentleman named Francis Scobell--a quarrel so warm that the House, fearing a duel, formally ordered the two men to stand up in their places and promise to pursue the matter no further.

Almost unnoticed during the hurlyburly of the 1693-94 session, a significant change took place in Goodwin's revelations. At the beginning of the session, the Lord twice promised, by way of Gabriel, to reveal the details of the divine plan for taxing clergymen and lawyers; then he tacitly gave up trying to advise Goodwin on legislation. As if conceding that Goodwin was perfectly competent to handle parliamentary matters, or that it was impossible to speak with him in old St. Stephen's Chapel, where Commons sat, the Lord ceased to talk about such subjects, and Goodwin quit asking for help. By this silent change of policy, which neither Goodwin nor the Lord commented upon, Goodwin lost forever the once-bright hope of a divinely inspired speech, but he also lost a chronic frustration that had lasted since January 1690.

On military matters, however, the Lord was free with advice and promises. In late April, as the time for the attack on Brest drew near, Goodwin was assured

by revelation that within nine months he would become a colonel and a general; and on May 1, shortly before he left for Portsmouth with the Earl of Macclesfield, the Lord promised to be his "stay and refuge" and cause him to "overcome the enemy." He had only to "go on valiantly" in the Lord's name.

When Goodwin reached Portsmouth his chances of beating the French and fulfilling the Lord's promise seemed very good. The French Atlantic Fleet, now under the command of Chateaurenault, had sailed for the Mediterranean to join the Toulon Squadron in an attack on Catalonia; it had left Brest virtually undefended by naval forces. The English, therefore, had only to secure a passage for their ships through the comparatively narrow Gullet (Le Goulet de Brest, entrance to the waters of the inner bay, or Rade), and they could bombard the town and destroy its naval installations practically at their leisure. This strategy entailed seizing the peninsula (the "neck of land," as Goodwin called it) south of the Gullet--a maneuver which entailed, in turn, an amphibious attack on the southeast shores of Camaret Bay, the area at the base of the crucial peninsula. To Goodwin and his friends, such an operation did not appear difficult as long as the French were not warned in advance of English intentions. Although Vauban, the celebrated French engineer, had constructed

a strong tower-fortress on the southwest side of the Bay, near the little town of Camaret, this installation did not discourage the English, who expected to capture it or to neutralize it with naval gunfire while they were overrunning the peninsula.

Besides approving of the strategy, Goodwin approved of the commanders assigned to lead the attack. In charge of all ground operations was Lieutenant-General Thomas Talmash, the highest ranking English officer in King William's service and a veteran often tested in the field. Since the days in late 1688 when as Colonel Talmash he had politely declined to kill Goodwin in a duel, he had earned a handsome reputation for coolness and courage. In the Irish campaign of 1691, as a volunteer under Ginkel, he had led the assault troops that forded the Shannon and swept the Irish out of Athlone; at Steinkirk in 1692 he had helped to cover the retreat of the battered English regiments, preventing a repulse from becoming a rout; and at Landen in 1693 he had kept his infantry unbroken during the collapse of the Allied defenses, again covering a retreat and helping to stave off what could have been a total disaster. A favorite among English troops, Talmash was also a favorite among English politicians, who compared him invidiously to William's Dutch generals and agitated to have him placed in command of all English troops. He was a particular

favorite of the Whartons, since he was a good Whig and a strong supporter of the Revolution. Tom, who had conspired with him in 1688, helped him to find a seat in Parliament and corresponded with him on matters of politics and gallantry.

Serving as Brigadier under Talmash was John, Lord Cutts, the leader par excellence of English assault forces. He had not yet acquired the title Salamander, an honor which he would achieve the next year at the siege of Namur in recognition of his immunity to French cannon and musket fire; but he was already known for his exploits in Flanders and Ireland and widely regarded as the bravest of the brave. Finally, Talmash's staff included Goodwin's friend the Earl of Macclesfield, who had been promoted to Major-General shortly after his appointment as Colonel. As one of the advocates of the attack upon Brest, he was assigned to accompany the expedition as Talmash's second-in-command.

By appointing Talmash and Cutts to lead the English forces, William had insured against a repetition of the aborted campaign of 1692. At least as gallant as Hotspur and Douglas, the two men were much more inclined to fight than to debate orders; they could be counted upon to deliver an attack if an attack was at all possible. On this occasion, they were provided with ten regiments of soldiers, including about 600 grenadiers, and supported

by a naval force of more than forty warships, English and Dutch, under the command of John, Earl of Berkeley, Admiral of the Blue. Berkeley, a young man but a veteran officer, was assisted by several Dutch flag officers and by Peregrine Osborne, Marquis of Carmarthen, one of the boldest commanders in the naval service--the sea-going equivalent of Lord Cutts.

Unfortunately Goodwin and the English army were compelled to remain in Portsmouth for a month, and as each day went by their chances of launching a successful attack upon Brest diminished. They waited for supplies, for bomb vessels, and for money to pay the sailors; they waited to coordinate their departure with that of Admiral Russell's grand fleet, which was assigned to pursue Chateaurenault into the Mediterranean; and finally they waited for favorable winds. It was not until May 22 that the troops were embarked, and it was not until May 30 that the winds allowed the fleet, after an unsuccessful start on May 29, to clear St. Helens and head for the Atlantic. Meanwhile, the French War Office, given an extra month to find out where the English forces intended to strike, had sent General Vauban to strengthen the defenses at Brest and Camaret Bay and to command the forces that would receive the English. They had also sent several regiments of regular infantry, several squadrons of regular cavalry, and

a vast number of cannons and mortars. While the English fleet, under light and variable winds, was tacking its way down the Channel, Vauban was planting extra batteries around the Bay and digging trenches to protect, and conceal, his infantry.

For his own part, Goodwin had hoped to aid the expeditionary force by bringing along Jeffrey, the diving lowlander, who would have been invaluable as an invisible scout, but Jeffrey, irresponsible as ever, broke his promise to join Goodwin at Portsmouth, and the fleet sailed without him. Goodwin had somewhat better luck with his prayers for favorable winds. On June 5, the day Berkeley's fleet separated from Russell's fleet, these finally took effect, giving the assault forces a relatively swift passage to the waters near Brest. On the same day Goodwin had a vision in which he saw the burning of Brest--an excellent sign that God had not forgotten his promise of victory.

In the early afternoon of June 7, the invasion fleet, led by the Queen, Lord Berkeley's flagship, anchored just outside the crucial area where Bertheaume Bay on the north, the Gullet on the northeast, and Camaret Bay on the southeast form the approaches to Brest and guard the entrance to the inner waters. As the ships waited for the flow of the tide which would help them move to a strategic anchorage closer to Camaret Bay,

the shoreline looked peaceful in the clear weather, an array of seacliffs and hills more appropriate to landscape painters than to artillerymen. As the vessels tacked towards the west end of the Camaret peninsula, however, a battery of heavy cannon opened up on them, and as they swung north on the port tack, a second battery from the old castle in Bertheaume Bay began firing; then as they headed northeast, two more batteries, one on either side of the Gullet, joined in the cannonade. The French gunfire, delivered at extreme range by gunners who were either too eager or too nervous to wait for closer targets, did no significant damage to the English ships, but it was impressive nevertheless. The weight and range of the shells, considerably beyond the average for coast artillery, forced the fleet to anchor at a respectful distance from the top of Camaret Bay and gave the first suggestion that perhaps the French had made special preparations for the occasion.

While the French continued their long-range bombardment, Goodwin got his first opportunity to show his courage--to "go on valiantly" in God's name. Lord Carmarthen had decided to conduct a close reconnaissance of Camaret Bay in his yacht the Peregrine, and when he came on board the Queen to ask Berkeley's official permission, Goodwin (who was aboard the flagship) volunteered to go with him. This offer Carmarthen accepted,

and Goodwin soon found himself in the lightly armed yacht, along with Lord Cutts, Lord Mohun, and several other gentlemen, making an unpleasantly dramatic tour of the Bay; for when they penetrated deep enough "to gain a good view" of the south and east shores, they came under the guns of Vauban's tower-fortress, an installation furnished with fourteen heavy cannon and numerous smaller weapons. In the cannonade that followed, the Peregrine stood in great danger of being blown out of the water. It was only by clever maneuvering and by making a covering smoke with the few guns on board that the crew "made shift" to extricate the vessel and retreat out of danger. In the end, the yacht escaped unscathed, and Goodwin returned with the honor of having passed through enemy fire--of having been "caronaded" by formidable batteries.

The fury of the French response and the growing suspicion that French ground forces might be stronger than anticipated caused Carmarthen to offer an amendment to the naval strategy. Originally, Berkeley had planned to send only two ships--the Monk, an English vessel of 60 guns, and the Damiaten, a Dutch warship of 50 guns--to engage Vauban's fortress and cover the landing; but now Carmarthen, who was to command the covering force, asked for six more ships, three English and three Dutch. He was assigned the Shoreham (32 guns),

the Charles Galley (32 guns), the Greenwich (54 guns), the Drakenstein (44 guns), the Wesel (30 guns), and the Wolfe (30 guns). The heavier ships, Carmarthen reasoned, would bring additional fire power against the French emplacements and the smaller frigates would provide close artillery support for grenadiers and infantry.

Meanwhile, the strategy of the ground forces remained essentially unaltered. General Talmash and Colonel Francois Philiponneau de la Motte, his Huguenot engineering officer, had also ventured into Camaret Bay in the late afternoon of June 7 and come as close as they dared to the proposed landing spot--a strip of beach on the southeast curve of the Bay, about a mile from the fearsome guns of the fortress. They had seen no batteries or earthworks--nothing alarming enough to change the plan of attack. First to hit the beach would be a probing detachment of fifty grenadiers, headed by a captain; then would come Lord Cutts with the rest of the grenadiers; finally, if the grenadiers made a lodgement, there would come Colonel Venner's infantry and the rest of the regular regiments. The plan allowed for immediate disengagement if Lord Cutts failed, but Cutts, who had proposed the scheme and volunteered to lead the grenadiers, did not expect to fail. Though he could not know that Goodwin, who asked to accompany him in the assault, had been promised God's help in

achieving the victory, he was confident that his troops were superior to any militiamen the French could bring against them.

The morning of June 8 began with a fog which blanketed the ships until about six-thirty. By seven Lord Berkeley was able to assemble the Council of War he had originally scheduled for three o'clock; and while the senior officers were agreeing upon the order of battle, he hung a red ensign from his foretopmast and fired a cannon--the signal for embarkation. Soon, hundreds of redcoats were clambering down from the large ships into the well-boats, tenders, and miscellaneous small craft that would carry them to shore. About nine, like a nightmare conducted in slow motion, the naval prelude to the battle got underway.

When Lord Carmarthen climbed aboard the Monk, intending to place the Monk and the Damiaten in their positions opposite the fort, he found the vessels becalmed. Unable to make sail, the two captains ordered their warships towed by longboats; and for a time the vessels inched slowly across the water toward Camaret. Briefly, as the ships came parallel with the northwest tip of the Bay, a following wind sprang up, shoving them towards their stations and giving Carmarthen hope that it would perform the same kindness for the rest of his small flotilla, which was to follow

shortly; but even as the Monk and the Damiaten, under vicious fire, were coming to anchor, the breeze shifted ninety degrees, from northwest to northeast, and the frigates in their turn were "rowed and towed" to their unenviable battle stations.

As the ships moved slowly into French gunfire, the English were discovering two very ominous facts--much more serious than unfavorable winds. On the west side of the Bay, from the town of Camaret to the northern tip of land, four hitherto concealed batteries opened fire on the support ships. The additional batteries, totaling fourteen large guns and five or six lighter pieces, not only increased English casualties and compelled Carmarthen to realign his covering vessels, but they also served as a sign of greater danger--strong evidence that the French knew what was coming and were well prepared to deal with an attack. A similar sign, perhaps more ominous, was the appearance northwest of Camaret of French cavalry. English estimates of the number differed, but all agreed that there were several squadrons and that the troops, obviously well mounted and well dressed, had the appearance of French regulars. As Carmarthen was placing his frigates along the west and south shores of the Bay, the cavalry began moving from the promontory on the northwest toward the area in the southeast where the attack was to be delivered.

These unfavorable signs were confirmed almost immediately by direct observations. When the ships swung close to land, within two cable lengths of their targets, the commanders could make out lines of entrenchments and strong formations of supporting troops. To Carmarthen these defences seemed so formidable that he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Montargis, the army observer who had accompanied him, to warn Talmash of the increased danger. His own covering force, though much augmented from the original assignments, now seemed hardly adequate--especially since the commander of the Greenwich, ignoring orders, had not brought his 54-gun vessel into the battle. All along the line, the ships found themselves engaged in a desperate contest with the batteries on shore.

Back at the assembly point near Lord Berkeley's flagship, Goodwin again elected to "go valiantly" into battle. Fully aware that Lord Cutts was to command the assault echelon and that accompanying Lord Cutts into a fight was an excellent way of getting killed, he nevertheless put himself into Lord Cutts's boat. Then, as the roll of broadsides, the heavy concussions of individual guns, and the black smoke rising over Camaret told everyone that the ship-to-shore battle had begun, Lord Berkeley hauled down the red ensign and fired two guns--the signal for the landing craft to head for the beach. At last Goodwin was on his way to engage the French.

The progress of the assault boats, like that of the frigates before them, was nightmarishly slow. It required approximately an hour and a half for the small craft to negotiate the three or four miles of blue water between their ships and their designated strip of shore, and with each furlong the prospects grew increasingly grim. Although the English and Dutch ships were engaging most of the batteries on the west and south, there were plenty of cannon balls and mortar shells left over for the landing party. French cannon emplaced near the Gullet, two strong batteries flanking the landing zone, and clusters of mortars mounted on moored rafts threw shells among the slowly advancing boats with increasing accuracy. Like floating targets in a crude shooting gallery, Goodwin and his friends moved into closer gun range.

About the time the landing craft reached the top of Camaret Bay, perhaps a mile from their destination, Colonel Montergis reached General Talmash with his message about the strength of French ground troops, and its implication that the attack should be aborted. This warning, well urged as events turned out, might have stopped some generals, but to Thomas Talmash it was far from decisive; it told him everything but what he wanted to know. Who were the troops that waited at the entrenchments? If they were regular infantry supported by regular cavalry, he was in grave trouble; but if they were

Breton militia supported by local cavalry--or by a few regular squadrons rushed out ahead of slow-marching infantry regiments--he could chase the whole motley assortment off the peninsula; and he would be sneered out of the army if he cancelled an attack, already in motion, against such opponents.

Talmash, then, made the decision, reasonable but wrong, to continue with the assault, and a few minutes later, as the boats moved closer to the landing site, he made another fateful decision. Since he did not know the Lord's battle plan, he did not understand that it was Goodwin who was to defeat the French and that the first order of tactics was to put Goodwin ashore where he could set about doing his job. Talmash did realize, however, as he neared the crucial 300 yards of sandy beach, that Cutts's plan of attack was unworkable. On paper and perhaps on land, grenadiers arrived in neat rows and delivered textbook attacks on entrenched enemies, but in Camaret Bay they arrived in disorderly batches, and if the operation were delayed while they assembled, landed, formed up, and launched a probing assault against obviously strong forces, failure was virtually certain. The chance for victory lay in landing as many men as possible as quickly as possible and hitting the enemy with a full-scale attack. Talmash decided, therefore, in what Goodwin called a "sudden changing" of his mind,

to lead the attack himself, and he ordered Cutts to go back to "the boats behind" and send along reinforcements.

Through no fault of his own, then, Goodwin found himself acting not as a gallant leader in an assault wave but as a helpless, though endangered, spectator at a bloody battle. All round the Bay, French cannon were firing into ships and landing craft; and strung out along the shore English and Dutch warships were returning the fire. One Dutch frigate, anchored broadside to the landing beach, was firing over the ingoing boats against the French batteries and troops on shore, but it could not neutralize the opposing artillery which poured "great numbers of cannon shot" among the boats near Goodwin. On every vessel, large and small, the danger was extreme; and every warship was suffering grave damage and heavy casualties.

But when Goodwin looked toward shore, the scene was bloodier still. Talmash, much too brave for his own good, had indeed gone ashore to lead the attack--one of the first Englishmen to set foot on land. He was followed, however, not by the bulk of the striking force but by a miscellaneous group of grenadiers and regulars, perhaps 150 men. As Goodwin watched, this small group, "falling under the load of the fire," was practically swept away. From three lines of entrenchments (the first only half a musket shot away), from two

or three flanking batteries of cannon, and from 150 special musketeers stationed behind a "sand rock" the French were pouring shot into the English troops. Talmash, intending to lead a charge, was shot in the thigh, Colonel De la Motte was killed outright, Colonel Montargis was wounded in the leg, and the few men who survived the tempestuous fire were forced to seek shelter behind a "land rock," about thirty yards from the water. In spite of his wound, Talmash put himself at the head of the next wave of soldiers who came ashore, about two hundred in all, but these too were cut down as they tried vainly to dislodge the French musketeers; and the few survivors were once more driven to cover.

While Goodwin watched the slaughter on shore, he was afflicted with a dishonorable thought. Seeing his red-coated friends falling left and right under a rain of "small shot," he could not help feeling glad that he was not attacking the French lines. Though the Lord had promised him victory, he "was not ill pleased" to be where he was--in a boat off shore beyond the range of musket balls. He was further relieved when Lord Cutts and Lord Macclesfield, judging the assault to be hopeless, did not land themselves or commit the remaining regiments. As the wounded Talmash was brought back, protesting, to the boats, his two subordinates ordered the retreat sounded, and the English busied themselves

with saving the remnants of the shattered attack.

This task was not easy. Five of the landing craft, left stranded by the ebbing tide, could not be dislodged from shore, and of the few soldiers who had survived French fire, fewer still managed to escape back to the boats on the Bay. Meanwhile the covering warships were retreating from their battle stations even more slowly than they had approached them. Of the English ships, only the Shoreham could move under its own sails, and even the Shoreham, "much shot and disabled," could barely limp away. The Charles Galley, which had lost thirty men, was towed out of the Bay by longboats; and the Monk, which had lost "upwards of 90 men," was finally towed away from its position by the fort. The Dutch ships fared even worse. The Wesel could not be saved; after losing practically all her men, she sank at her station. The Damiaten and the Drakenstein, both severely damaged, were towed off like the Monk. Only the Wolfe, stationed at the landing beach, had enough rigging and sail left to beat her way back to the main fleet. Altogether, Lord Carmarthen estimated, the English-Dutch covering force had lost 400 men.

When Goodwin found himself safely beyond the range of the French artillery, he had a good deal to think about besides the nightmarish scenes he had just witnessed. It was clear that his oral revelations had failed once more--that God's predictions about Camaret

Bay were no better than they had been about Mons--and it was possible that his life had been saved when Talmash changed the battle plan. If he had been killed on the beach, the angels, no doubt, would have explained to Mary why God's promise of life and victory could not be kept. But this time Goodwin felt a guilty suspicion that he himself was at least partially responsible for the failure of the revelations. Perhaps God's promise had been contingent upon his courage, and perhaps he had not gone forward "valiantly" enough. Perhaps, indeed, his moment of weakness--of being glad to be out of the fight on shore--had cost England the victory. Others might blame General Talmash for attacking against heavy odds, but Goodwin was inclined to blame himself.

At a council of war held on board the Dreadnought immediately after the retreat of the landing forces, Goodwin experienced a brief hope of seeing his revelations fulfilled after all. When the wounded Talmash was asked what the next move should be, he advocated a naval attack upon Brest itself. The fleet could force its way through the Gullet and destroy the installations around the city without engaging the French land forces. The navy might yet achieve the principal aim of the expedition. This plan, capable of producing the victory God had promised, Goodwin supported strongly; but it was rejected by the senior officers of the expedition

as too hazardous. The ships needed west winds to get into Brest harbor and east winds to get out again; no one knew the precise strength of the defenses near the city nor the dangers of lying becalmed in such a place; and the light ships of the fleet, those capable of fighting in the shallowest waters, were in no condition to fight another action. The expedition should return to Spithead, the officers decided, and wait for further instructions. The next morning, therefore, Goodwin was compelled to leave Brest undestroyed and sail for England with the rest of the fleet. On June 11, as the other ships sailed toward Portsmouth, the Dreadnought with Talmash aboard put into Plymouth harbor, but Talmash was already beyond the medical skill of the time. His wounded thigh had become gangrenous, and he died the next night--only four days after his gallant and costly attack.

The debacle at Camaret Bay left Goodwin with two immediate problems, one personal and the other military. For his personal guidance, he needed to find out from Mary and the angels where God's plan had gone wrong and whether he had been responsible for the disaster; for the sake of England, he needed to instruct the high command on the proper military measures for punishing France and avenging the losses at Camaret. The first problem was solved on June 17, the day after he reached

London from Portsmouth. Returning from church where she had consulted the angels, Mary absolved him of cowardice and blamed the defeat upon the change of plan that had kept him off the beach. Had he gone forward, Mary reported, the French would have been beaten in accordance with revelation. If on the other hand he had "gone back" (in a cowardly attempt to retreat to the ships), he would have been killed.

On the subject of military operations, Goodwin had begun to give advice even before the fleet reached Spithead. He recommended that the fleet should begin "ravaging" the French coast and that it should start with Dieppe and Havre de Grace; he proposed, in fact, that the attacks should begin at once, before the fleet returned home. Lord Berkeley and the senior officers promptly vetoed the notion of an immediate attack; they would return to port, consult the government, and repair their losses before launching any more attacks. They favored, however, the general strategy of demolishing French seaports--a strategy already implicit in the attack upon Brest--and Lord Berkeley forwarded Goodwin's suggestion to the government, without specifying the cities to be attacked. He also made a more modest suggestion. The crews of the Monk, the Shoreham, and the Charles Galley had endured a frightful cannonade ("as warm service," in Berkeley's words, "as has lately

been known"), and the men who had "stood upon the decks" and done their duty (as opposed to those who "ran into the hold") deserved special recognition. It would be appropriate, Berkeley thought, if the Queen sent bounty money--cash bonuses--to reward and stimulate valor.

Goodwin's return to Soho Square allowed him, of course, to have Mary consult the angels on strategy--to ask precisely where the fleet should strike. It also allowed him to press his friends in the government for a quick decision on the new expedition against the French coast. On this occasion, the Queen's Council acted before the angels did. On June 23, the Council authorized strikes against Normandy (with specific targets to be selected by a council of war), but the angels did not reach a decision until after Goodwin had rejoined the fleet. Even then they seemed to hedge their selections. Goodwin first received a letter from Mary explaining that the angels recommended attacks upon St. Malo and Dunkirk; he then received a second letter saying that the fleet could go anywhere the officers chose. On July 28, the day Goodwin received Mary's second letter, the senior officers chose to begin by bombarding Dieppe.

The foray against Dieppe began badly, despite the angels' general warrant for attacking Norman towns.

Three times the fleet was "beat back" to English ports by Channel gales, and when it finally came to anchor near the town, it was obliged to wait five additional days before the seas were smooth enough to permit an attack. During this time Goodwin, who had sailed aboard the Neptune, could do little to help the operation; his prayers, he found by experience, were effective against "a mighty fog," which he dispersed in about an hour, but powerless against the "fierce" Channel wind. His brain, however, was busy with schemes for the future, one of which seemed especially promising. The French, he reasoned, might be willing to buy immunity for their coastal cities; they might pay "contributions" to keep their towns undamaged, just as areas in the war zones, particularly in the Low Countries, offered "contributions" in cash or supplies to avoid pillage by invading armies. The English fleet, sweeping the Channel unopposed, could offer towns like Cherbourg, Fécamp and le Tréport a choice between destruction and ransom; it could injure King Louis' treasury rather than his subjects.

Goodwin's superiors, unfortunately, were only mildly impressed by his plan. They had no authority, they pointed out, to exact contributions, and they doubted whether any contributions would be offered even if the government authorized the scheme. Goodwin

persisted nevertheless, and the attack upon Dieppe, which began on July 12, seemed to lend substance to his arguments. Once the wind died down, the English moved in close with their bomb vessels and warships, plastering the installations and the town with more than 1100 shells; by about ten at night they had started a huge fire which the inhabitants could not check. Dieppe, in Goodwin's phrase, began to burn like Babylon. The next morning the town continued to burn, the English continued to bombard it, and Goodwin pointed out to Admiral Berkeley that the city could now serve as a horrible example of what happened to sea-ports which did not offer contributions.

Lord Berkeley was not entirely convinced, but he agreed to suggest the plan to the government. On July 13, during a lull in the bombardment, he wrote to Sir John Trenchard, one of the two secretaries of state:

Mr. Goodwin Wharton who is here has a working head and contributions "runs in it confoundedly." He has persuaded me to write to you to know if her Majesty would give me power to compound for any if it should be offered at some other place, now they see how we have served Dieppe. I think there is no great danger of having any offered.

On the same day, Goodwin himself wrote two letters to Sir John Trenchard, who as a loyal Whig and an ally

of the Whartons could be trusted to take the suggestions of a Whig M. P. seriously. Among other items of business, Goodwin urged Sir John to expedite the matter of contributions. This Sir John did with commendable dispatch. On July 16, he got a favorable response from the Council and forwarded a letter of authorization to Admiral Berkeley.

As to the proposal from Mr. Wharton of putting towns under contributions to excuse them from being bombarded [Sir John wrote], her Majesty leaves you at liberty to accept thereof, if any such case shall happen, except in cases where there shall be a probability of destroying the enemy's shipping or naval stores.

By the time Sir John wrote his letter, most of Dieppe had been "burnt to ashes" and Berkeley's fleet had moved on to attack Havre de Grace. The bombardment, which began on the afternoon of July 16, was more costly to the fleet and somewhat less effective than the attack on Dieppe. The bomb ship Granada was blown up when an "unlucky shell" struck its powder room; the dead included a lieutenant and several men who had been sent from Goodwin's ship the Neptune to serve with the smaller ship. There were difficulties too in getting the heavy ships close enough to shore for effective bombardment, and the fleet delivered only half as many shells as it had launched at Dieppe. Nevertheless the damage was

impressive. By the end of the first day's shelling Lord Berkeley estimated that a third of the town had been destroyed, and the fires were so extensive that Goodwin doubted whether artillery alone could have caused them. (He would later learn from Mary what he suspected at the time, that the angels had "fired" both Havre de Grace and Dieppe and had caused more damage than the bombs.) In general, Berkeley was satisfied with the attack; he prepared a favorable dispatch on the subject and assigned Goodwin to convey it personally to the government. Leaving Havre de Grace burning--about half destroyed, the dispatch said--and leaving Lord Berkeley to muddle along without the benefit of further advice, Goodwin took ship and hurried back to Whitehall, where he arrived on July 20.

Goodwin's role as official messenger of the fleet brought him an interview with Queen Mary, who declared herself "very well satisfied" with the operations in Normandy. It also brought him a good deal of public attention; his return and his report were noted in newsletters, diaries, and private correspondence. His message, however, was not universally approved. John Evelyn, for example, protested the inhumanity of shelling civilians and questioned whether burning French towns served any useful military purpose; such tactics, he thought, like French atrocities in the Palatine, were

more likely to harden resistance than to weaken it. On this subject, Goodwin himself had suffered a few qualms. At Dieppe he had seen a procession of monks and nuns who had been driven from their cloisters; to them, he knew, the shelling was a "calamity," and he could not help feeling pity for them.

Goodwin's return to London marked the end of his summer campaign, although he did not know it at the time. He proposed a bombing attack upon Toulon and offered to help lead the foray himself, but the government turned down the proposal. The ministers and the commanders decided instead to attack Callais and Dunkirk, and when they sent the fleet upon this mission they did not send Goodwin along with it. Mistakenly, as it turned out, they left him in London, where he could do nothing to help the operation. By this error they forfeited the protection of the angels, and their designs against the two towns came to very little. Callais was left unattempted, and Dunkirk, the most effective base for French privateers, was hardly damaged by a badly managed attack; it remained as troublesome as ever.

Meanwhile, Goodwin was attending to some very important personal business. After more than five and a half years of living with Sir Thomas Travell on Soho Square, he decided that he could no longer endure Sir Thomas's "ill carriage," and on August 25 he took a house

of his own in Westminster, where he and Mary could be free from the complaints and pretensions of their one-time partner. As a preliminary ritual, Mary carried "bread, salt, and a bible" to the new residence; but it was almost three months before she and Goodwin were able to remove the last of their property from Soho Square. Without the permission of the angels, they could not move, or open, the treasure trunks that had accumulated in Goodwin's closet over the years, and the angels were very slow about granting permission. In the end Goodwin was not allowed to open any of the treasures he had collected from Northend, Hounslow, Southampton, Red Lion Fields, St. James's Park, or Ratcliff; he was only permitted to have them brought, still enclosed in trunks, to his new house in Westminster. On November 15, when he finally received the last cartload, he found that some of the trunks had been emptied and that several were missing (removed, no doubt, by the whimsical spirits who had brought treasure). Fortunately, the spirits had left most of the treasure, and they had not taken the symbolic gifts he had received years before--items like the magic rod, the covenants, the arks, and the pictures of saints. Some of the votary gifts he was able to use, "without supersitition," as ornaments in his new establishment.

Goodwin and Mary got firmly settled in Westminster

just in time for the new session of Parliament, which began in earnest on November 19. In the distribution of duties, Goodwin was appointed once more to the Committee on Elections and Privileges, after a year's interval, and to a special committee assigned to examine the charter of the Royal African Company. On the floor of the House, the members occupied themselves with financing the war and repassing the Triennial Bill, one of Goodwin's favorite measures. Under the revised administration, now largely Whig, the session moved smoothly through its first month, and on December 22, King William signed the Triennial Act into law.

Then came what Goodwin was constrained to call "a surprising providence." Queen Mary, the nation learned with alarm, had come down with smallpox--a disease then dreaded only slightly less than bubonic plague. When the grim diagnosis was confirmed by the physicians at Kensington, Goodwin was especially troubled. For almost six years he had adored the Queen and recognized the great "goodness and virtue" that "she was mistress of"; he had considered her the "finest" as well as the greatest lady in the kingdom. Simply on grounds of affection, he found her illness frightening. And when he considered the incompetence of her physicians, he found it more alarming still. During the first two or three days of the illness, they had not been able to agree on a

diagnosis--some of them calling the disorder measles--and after they had recognized the symptoms they did not agree on the treatment. Their general strategy, Goodwin learned, was to try everything, from bleeding and scarifying to dosing her with a wide variety of "slops," which she found "intolerable"; and they compounded their errors of prescription by giving her "no rest." Between the continual examinations of the doctors and the "bawling" and bustle of the people around her, it seemed that Mary would be "worried to her grave."

For a few days Goodwin could tell himself that the Queen was safe. The Lord, after all, had promised him not once but many times that she would raise him to the throne after she had outlived King William; she could hardly die without contravening God's express pronouncements. But as the physicians grew desperate and the Queen, "with all the mildness and easiness of temper imaginable," accepted the fate that seemed inevitable, Goodwin's confidence wavered. The Lord's promises, unfortunately, were often contingent when they sounded absolute, and though always trustworthy in principle, they were often wrong in fact. In the present crisis, Goodwin found it particularly unnerving that God, who had not spoken to him for more than a month, would not give him an oral revelation, and that the angels, who

communicated with him only through Mary Parish, seemed uncertain and evasive.

On the evening of December 27, Goodwin made a final attempt to save Queen Mary's life. Professing himself "amazed" that Mary could be dying before the Lord's promises had been fulfilled, he called upon the angels for advice and help. Their replies, however, remained ambiguous. As transmitted by Ahab through Mary Parish, they offered nothing more substantial than hope. As late as eleven o'clock that night, Gabriel sent word that he still retained "great hopes" that God would spare the Queen, but he did not send a categorical promise. Less than three hours later, before one o'clock on the morning of December 28, Queen Mary was dead.

Though full of sorrow himself, Goodwin did not try to compare his grief with that of King William, who was "to the last degree afflicted" (as Goodwin observed)--transformed from a stoical commander to a weeping, incoherent husband. But Goodwin had a "concern" that the King could not imagine; he needed an explanation for the failure of God's promises on "so great a point." Before the bells of Westminster had finished tolling, therefore, he sent the spirit George Whitmore (recalled from Queen Ursula for the occasion) to speak with the spirit of Queen Mary on the subject--to ask her "how she

came to die."

George returned with not one but two answers, which Mary Parish then passed on to Goodwin. The immediate cause of her death, the Queen had explained, was the hopeless incompetence of her physicians (as Goodwin had surmised). With their "continual hurry" and their mistaken treatment they had "made her quite weary of her life." The second but more important cause was a grave error on the part of William. The King had not "harkened" to the advice Goodwin had given him two years before; he had not executed anyone for the judicial murders committed by the officers of James and Charles. Since he had refused to do justice, since he had left "innocent blood" crying for atonement, the Lord now chose to cut off the "innocent person" nearest and dearest to him. By his mistaken lenity, he had condemned Mary to die "a martyr" and given himself "lifelong cause to bewail" her loss.

Although these explanations did not quite answer the nagging question of why the Lord had not warned Goodwin of the change in plan, or why he had given him an empty promise in the first place, Goodwin accepted the answers and bowed once more to "the inscrutable wisdom and providence" of God. And on December 28, the very day of the Queen's death, he was able to give public expression to his love and grief. With his fellow members

of the House of Commons, he sat "in profound silence" while his brother Tom, as Comptroller of the Royal Household, formally announced that God had taken to Himself England's "most gracious and most excellent Queen." He then agreed with the unanimous sense of the House that a select committee should be appointed to draw up an address to William expressing the sympathy of the House and assuring the King that the Commons would continue to support him against all enemies "at home and abroad." Finally, he had the melancholy satisfaction of being appointed to the select committee, which was assigned to meet in the Speaker's chamber at four that afternoon under the chairmanship of Tom.

The committee's address, adopted unanimously by the House next day and presented to William at Kensington on December 31, contains several affecting phrases in its attempt to convey the "unspeakable grief of heart" suffered by the Commons and the Kingdom. One of these was contributed by Goodwin and derives ultimately from a very important vision of late December 1686. Speaking of Mary Parish, God had formally and impressively pronounced her "the best of women." Now, amid the universal mourning, Goodwin quietly transferred Mary's title to the dead Queen; and the committee's condolence to King William (still extant in the House Journal) describes Queen Mary as "that most excellent Princess, the best of women."